

ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

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THE OREGON QUESTION.

We copy from the National Intelligencer the speech of Joshua R. Giddings on this absorbing topic. It was called forth by the following resolution:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be and he is, to give notice to the government of Great Britain, that the convention between the United States and Great Britain, concerning the Territory of Oregon, of the 6th of August, 1827, signed at London, shall be annulled and abrogated, twelve months after the expiration of the said term of notice, conformably to the second article of the said convention of the 6th of August, 1827.

Mr. Giddings said that owing to the difficulty which he had experienced heretofore in obtaining the floor, he was induced to avail himself of his present position to indicate the consideration that would govern him in voting for the resolution reported from the Committee on Foreign Affairs. It is due to myself (said Mr. G.) to say, that in a former Congress, I was opposed to terminating the joint occupancy of Oregon. That vote was given under the circumstances which then surrounded us. Now we are placed in a totally different position. Since this subject was before us, our Union has been changed in its essential elements, and its fundamental principles have been overthrown. The Union founded by our fathers has been subverted, and a new slaveholding Confederacy has been formed, giving to the Southern portion the balance of power, and subjecting the free labor of the North, the dearest rights of the free States, to the tender mercies of a slaveholding oligarchy. They now have the entire direction of the Government. The people of the free States have been politically bound head and foot, and delivered over to the slaveholding interest, and it is now worse than mockery to talk of maintaining the manufacturing interests of Pennsylvania or of New England. They are now under the inexorable power of the South.

This, then, is our situation, as we are all perfectly conscious. The nation has been plunged without our aid into this condition, and against my will. I have believed, and still believe, that this policy of acquiring territory must inevitably, if carried out, subvert the Government and dissolve the Union.

Mr. CHILMAN called Mr. G. to order, and was understood to say that to speak of the dissolution of the Union was irrelevant, and was throwing a firebrand into the House.

Mr. GIDDINGS proceeded. I was stating our present situation, and the liability of this new Union to fall asunder from its own weight, when this system of extension shall be carried out. And it is under these circumstances that I am called to express my opinion of the proposed policy. I am led to the conclusion, to the irresistible conclusion, that war, with all its horrors and its devastation of public morals, is infinitely preferable to a supine, a passive submission to the slaveholding power, that is to control this nation, if left in its present situation.

I wish to be distinctly understood that I have seen enough of war to form an opinion of its effects, its miseries, and the extent of its curse. Yet, sir, I greatly prefer them, for a few years, to the quiet apathy which has already subjected us to a change of the Government forced by our fathers.

Here I will take occasion to say, that I differ from my venerable friend from Massachusetts as to the probability of war. I am of opinion that if we take the whole of Oregon, it will produce war. I say this, although I have heretofore in nine cases out of ten, found myself mistaken when I have differed from that venerable statesman. The consequences of a war have not escaped my consideration.

It must inevitably produce great destruction to the commercial wealth of New England. Here let me say to the gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. WINTHROP,) who the other day made so eloquent an appeal in favor of peace, and who represents the commercial interests of that State, that I fully appreciate his motives and feelings. But, sir, this situation is one of his own choice. He was among the first distinguished men of that State who gave in his adherence to the change

of Government, and the leading commercial men of Boston were the first in that State to declare their submission to this new slaveholding confederation with Texas. This was done with a full knowledge of the policy which had been adopted of extending our territory. That State had declared her people under no obligation to unite with Texas in consequence of any action of Congress. I then held, and still hold, the action of this Government imposed no obligation upon my State, either political or moral, to enter into this new confederacy. No, sir, if she comes into it, as she will, it will be the choice of our people, and not from any obligation resting upon her by reason of the joint resolutions of Congress. And, if my colleagues coincided with me in opinion, no Representative from Ohio would retain a seat in this Hall beside those of Texas, upon such terms as have been imposed upon us. But the gentleman from Massachusetts voluntarily preferred to have his State become a party to this new union. I hope the people of that old commonwealth did not intend, in going into it, to stop this policy of adding territory to our present Confederacy. They could not have desired to remain under the despotic sway of the slave power. They must have expected that the balance of power was to be restored by the addition of territory at the North to counterbalance Texas. They ought not now to oppose the regulating of those rights which have been voluntarily surrendered by the North. And this destruction of their wealth will be merely the legitimate consequence of their submission to the proposed policy. But, sir, the manufacturers of New England, and New York, and Pennsylvania will be promoted by a war. The agricultural interests of the West will not be likely to suffer. Indeed, our principal burden will not be the defence of ourselves, or the taking of Canada; but the protection of the South—the weak, helpless, slaveholding South. That portion of the Union must suffer most. I have seen the horrors manifested by Southern papers. The Cotton interest, say they, must of course suffer. Slave labor will be rendered worthless, and Slave property depreciated. True; but this policy of adding territory to our original Government is the offspring of the South. They have forced it upon the Northern Democracy. The objects of the South are now answered. Texas is admitted. They have attained their ulterior designs, and they now require the party to stop short, to face about, and leave the power of the nation in their hands. They now see before them the black regiments of the West India Islands landed upon their shores. They now call to mind the declaration of British Statesmen, that "a war with the United States will be a war of emancipation." They now see before them the same insurrections, which torment their imaginations. Murder, Rapine, and Blood now dance before their affrighted visions. Well, sir, I say to them:—This is your policy, not mine. You have prepared the cup, and I will press it to your lips until the very dregs shall be drained!

Let no one misunderstand me. Let no one say that I desire a slave insurrection; but, sir, I doubt not that hundreds of thousands of honest and patriotic hearts will "laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear comes." No, sir, should a servile insurrection take place—should massacre and blood mark the footsteps of those who have for ages been oppressed, my prayer to God shall be, that justice—firm, unyielding, and unalterable justice, may be awarded to the master and to the slave. Then, sir, we shall have the scenes of 1780 again acted over, when South Carolina sent to the Continental Congress a delegation to inform that body that it required all her troops to protect her people against their slaves, and that that civilized State must depend on her Northern sisters for troops to defend her against the common enemy. Then, sir, the people of Ohio will be compelled to go to the South, to Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi, and Texas, to protect them from the emancipated slaves of the West Indies, and the desperation to which their own servile population will be driven. Sir, our sons must go there and bare their breasts in defence of the slave institutions of those States. Then, sir, the people of the North will be compelled to look this institution in the face; they will see the degradation to which they have become subjected by this new slaveholding Confederacy.

And, sir, no twelve hundred thousand dollars will be likely to be paid to Southern slaveholders by the British Government for the purpose of obtaining peace. But, sir, there is one vast and important consideration that ought not to escape my notice. A war with England, in the present state of the two nations, must inevitably place in our possession the Canadas, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Six States will be added to the Northern portion of the Union, to restore the balance of power surrendered up by the Annexation of Texas. This, Mr. Speaker, is the policy declared by the party now controlling this nation, at their Baltimore Convention. I say to them, carry out that policy! I demand of them not to leave the nation in its present state of subjection to the slaveholding oligarchy of the South. I will vote to give them the means of doing so. But, sir, I am bound to say that I believe the Northern Democracy to have been betrayed. Their Southern slaveholding allies will now desert them. We see them in every part of the Hall begging and beseeching Whigs and Democrats to save them from this dread policy, which is to prostrate Southern interests and involve them in blood and massacre. A

master-spirit of the South has left his retirement and taken his position in the other end of this Capitol, with the open and avowed purpose of defeating the identical policy, the promotion of which occupied his whole intellect only a twelve month since. It remains to be seen whether he is able to control the nation.

Sir, should the measure be carried through Congress, I say to Northern Democrats that the Executive will save the institutions of the South from the apprehended danger of a war with England. Yes, sir, I verily believe that he will surrender up all that portion of Oregon lying north of the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, rather than hazard the dangers of a war. Yes, gentlemen, be assured he will do it, and, in my opinion, he will effect it before the day proposed by the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs for discussing this resolution. Let no man misapprehend or misrepresent me. I say, this policy is not mine. I have at all times opposed it. I am still convinced that its consequences are destructive to our Government. Both has been forced upon us, and those who have adopted it are responsible. I wash my hands from all participation in it; but I prefer that they should carry it out, rather than leave us where we are. When this policy shall be fully carried out, it will leave the North and the South in the enjoyment of something like equal advantages. And when, from its broad extent, this Republic, like the Roman Empire, shall fall under its own weight, the free States will stand redeemed from the foul contagion of slavery which now rests upon them.

The various false statements that have been put in circulation through the northern newspapers, in exaggeration of the power of the Dominicans and misrepresentation of the Haytiens are happily refuted by the following article taken from the Boston Journal:

HAYTI.

Mr. SLEMPER—Since the return of Mr. Hogan from his secret mission in St. Domingo a strong disposition has been manifested to learn the result of his researches.

The Washington correspondents of several northern journals, with a view of gratifying curiosity, have drawn largely upon what they understand to be the substance of his report.

These communications have given an impression that a splendid arrangement for "mutual benefit" is nearly completed with the Eastern part of St. Domingo. One writer expresses surprise that Mr. Hogan should have found in that region a population of 100,000 including 120,000 whites.

His astonishment is certainly natural, for the majority of those 100,000 are men in Buckram suits and Kendall green.

According to the census taken in 1825, the eastern division contained less than 65,000 all told; at this moment it may possibly number 80,000 including 5, or 6,000 whites.

Another writer, in alluding to the mission, luxuriates upon the idea of annexing the whole Island.

He considers it the most delightful country which the sun has shone upon since the garden of Eden went out of cultivation, and descants philosophically upon the 300 millions of pounds of coffee which we might wring out of the soil. But before we proceed to acknowledge the independence of the Dominicans, or to reckon the precise value of 300 millions pounds of coffee, perhaps it may be well to turn over a few pages of the checked history of St. Domingo, and learn something of the relations which subsist between the parties.

Possibly nothing injurious may immediately grow out of this tampering with the enemies of a friendly foreign power; but that an effort will be made hereafter to carry out the views of the secret agent, there exists not a doubt.

In the absence of a stronger arm, (which might, perhaps draw a "shining blade for Greece," but decline a cause not tinged with romance,) we dip our "tea-spoon in Niagara," and proceed to notice briefly some of the peculiarities which mark this business, and a few of the calumnies and misrepresentations which have been circulated in relation to an unoffending government, and a harmless and afflicted people.

In the first place there is no ground for the common opinion, that the Dominicans were originally annexed to the government of the French part—against their consent. It is not true that they were conquered, beaten down, trampled upon, and crushed, before they were united with the Haytiens; the very reverse of all this was the case, as we shall attempt to show.

In 1821, at the time of Christophe's death, Boyer was called to the Presidency by the united voices of the Haytiens. At that period the Spanish part of the Island was independent, but its situation was most precarious. The war between Spain and her revolted provinces in South America was at its height, and the Columbian privateers which thronged the Caribbean seas, were continually plundering the people along the shores of the Spanish part; moreover, there were many persons in that division of the Island who were inclined to favor a union with the patriots of South America—but by far the greater number opposed this suggestion. Such was the state of things at the commencement of Boyer's government. After maturely reflecting upon the difficulties by which they were surrounded, the feeble government of the Spanish part sought protection in a union with the Haytiens, and Boyer was formally solicited by them to grant his consent to

the annexation of the Eastern part to the Republic of Hayti. The request was complied with, and the Eastern portion became a part and parcel of that Republic, as much so as Massachusetts now is of this Union. Thus it appears that the Dominicans adopted the Haytien Government not only voluntarily but joyfully. Shortly after this, the French (with an overwhelming force in the harbor of Port au Prince) demanded an indemnity for the property sacrificed in the Revolution. The people of the country had "supped full of horrors," and Boyer, to prevent further bloodshed and destruction of property, agreed to the payment of 150,000,000 of francs; the independence of Hayti was then acknowledged by France and other European powers. A vigorous attempt was made to obtain a similar acknowledgment from the United States, but the interest of slaveholders prevailed against it, and nothing was effected.

About three years since, Herard was elected President of the Island. This was the signal, in the Spanish part, for a separation of the legitimate Government, and they declared themselves independent of it. It does not appear that this movement was caused by the election of Herard, or from a conviction that his course would be a bad one—for what his policy would be was not known. It proved, however, disastrous enough, although some of his first acts were consequent upon the rebellion, and not the cause of it; still it has been urged by many that Herard's impolitic course was the great cause of discontent. If it were so, it may be asked why Guerrier and Pierrot, his successors and opposites in everything, have been unable to induce the rebels to return to their allegiance?

About two years since, agents were despatched by the Dominicans to our government, for aid of some sort—the application was coldly received by Mr. Upshur, which, considering the influences by which he was surrounded, was somewhat remarkable. After the death of Mr. Upshur the application was renewed, and the nullifiers of the Spanish part found a kindred spirit in Mr. Calhoun, the successor of Mr. Upshur. To Mr. Calhoun belongs the distinguished honor of sending a secret agent to a small discontented portion of another republic, to ascertain whether the dissolution of a union, contrary to the constitution of the country, and in opposition to nine-tenths of its inhabitants, was an act which this government ought to encourage, in order to prove that blacks are not competent to maintain their rights even in their own country if indeed, they are supposed to have any rights anywhere. To be sure, we are told of the advantages to be derived from a trade with the 80,000 Dominicans, provided we acknowledge their independence—but who believes this to have been an incentive to our Government in this movement? The commerce of our country has long had little of its care—had it been otherwise, millions of dollars might have been saved in our trade, by making the slight concession to the Haytien Government which was asked for during the administration of General Jackson. It is notorious that for the last twenty-four years, goods imported into Hayti in American vessels have been subject to and have actually paid an extra duty of ten per cent, beyond that paid by vessels of other nations. The interests of the country has been thus sacrificed to gratify the refined notions of our Southern brethren. "Aristocratic England" could acknowledge the independence of Hayti, and by so doing, compass an immense trade, which naturally belonged to us—but "Democratic America" had "a peculiar institution" to which the commerce of the country was made subservient. Does any one imagine the prospect of future business with eighty thousand Dominicans induced the secret mission? Why, an untrammelled trade with one million of Haytiens, under a regular government, has not been deemed worthy of the slightest consideration. But we are told that the Haytiens are cruel, blood-thirsty and barbarous—Christophe is often held up as an evidence of the fact. It is true that the Black Chief was a great rascal—so was Napoleon, in about the same way; the former, however, merely sprinkled the avenue of his citadel with blood, to perpetuate his rule in his own country, whilst the latter waded through seas of slaughter to subjugate other nations. Napoleon was of course the most popular man, for it is a grand and philanthropic truth that

"One murder makes a villain—Millions, a hero."

The Haytiens universally hold in utter detestation the memory of the *affaire* whilst the refined French almost forget Heaven in the remembrance of the *horre*.

The successor of Christophe, as has been stated was Boyer, the first President of the Island. It does not suit those who consider a colored Republic an anomaly, to speak of his Government. The truth is that during his administration of twenty years, there was less taking of responsibility on the part of the Executive, less corruption among the officers, less plundering of the treasury, and a more hearty contempt for repudiation, than was seen in this country during the same period.

"Although we cannot but feel that Slavery speaks to this Republic as prophetically as did the ghost of Cesar to the ill-starred Brutus, yet we allude to its existence amongst us, only incidentally, being well satisfied that a few demagogues, who rejoice in Slavery at home, and forge fetters for other lands, do not represent our Southern brethren any nearer than the rabid 'one idea' Abolitionist does the people of New England.

Why, then, it may be asked has not the Island prospered in a greater degree. Why is not the French indemnity entirely paid? Let it be remembered that the country has suffered, in many ways, from its efforts to meet its obligation to the French honorably. They did not over estimate their ability, at the time the debt was contracted; but since that period, the produce of the Island has declined in value, at least two thirds. Moreover, the losses (both public and private) by fires in the principal towns, have been immense. Added to these, the earthquake of 1812 deluged and completely destroyed the Cape, and nearly every other town in the North. These calamities could not all have been avoided.—The President might, perhaps, have checked the decline in coffee throughout the world, and forbade the fires; but he could not veto the earthquake.

On the score of indolence, the Haytiens may be justly chargeable, but in no greater degree than the inhabitants of the other islands. We must not go within the tropics, amongst the children of the sun, to find the characteristics of the New Englander and the Scotchman. It is very true that the capabilities of Hayti have not been taxed to the utmost; the resources of such countries never are fully developed by voluntary labor. How much rice would the Carolinians 'rearing' from their swamps with their own hands!

As regards the other, and more important attribute of the people, in the interior, (who have been denounced as "blood-thirsty barbarians,") it may safely be affirmed that the peasantry of the Island, particularly in the North, will compare favorably with the cultivators of any country, for mildness, hospitality, and freedom from vice. Their opportunities, however, for religious and moral teaching have been slender—circumstances have deprived them of these blessings except in a very limited degree.

Our missionaries have gladdened nearly every benighted spot.

"From Greenland's icy mountains To India's coral strand."

But it is a melancholy fact that Hayti has been overlooked. A million people at our very doors have been permitted to grope in comparative darkness! How far this neglect is to be attributed to the contemptuous tone of our government towards these Islanders, may be inferred by those who are familiar with American missionaries.

In the present state of things, a manifest disposition on the part of the U. S. to aid the Dominicans would lead to difficulty; not only would the measure be considered by the world as anti-Republican, ungenerous and unjust, but on the miserable source of policy it would prove perplexing and dangerous in the extreme. It is well known that the French King entertains the best feelings toward Haytiens, and that the most liberal indulgence as to this payment of the indemnity has lately been granted by him, with the kindest expressions of good will. France will not allow us to tamper with her debtor with impunity; and by an ill-timed, impertinent interference with another government, destroy her chance for the recovery of her claim. A difference with the French, however, is less to be shunned than the foul dishonor which would attach itself to the act of robbing a Government, less powerful than our own, of the fairest portion of its territory.

B. C. O.

In addition to the above, a correspondent of the Tribune, writing from Mobile, states some further facts in exposition of this newly broached scheme of annexation, and of the fellow Hogan, who has been selected as one of the principal tools for its accomplishment.

The writer who is evidently a man of character and extensive intelligence—then goes on to state facts which are within his own knowledge, in refutation of the calumnies which Hogan, through a "creature" of his, writing over the signature of "W." had been publishing concerning the Haytiens.

"I have been in both countries—Hayti and Dominica, and in communication with the governments of both. Having no prescribed or interested views, I gathered very different opinions from those imbibed by this writer. On Dominican ground I might very easily have formed unfavorable opinions of Dominican government, but as it had barely emerged from the revolution of separation, I felt that any conclusions founded on appearances must involve some degree of injustice. Don Pedro Santana, an influential creole, had assumed the Presidency; Senor Bobadilla, the direction of affairs as principal Minister; while a Doctor Caminero took upon himself the office of Commissioner to invoke the good graces of John Tyler & Co., in aid of the movement and its collateral objects. To the popular dissatisfaction in Hayti, which ended in the banishment of Rivecourt, Herard, Ingaine, and their friends, the Dominican government owed even this imperfect organization, and to the exhaustion of resources produced by the causes, operation and consequences combined, of two important governmental revolutions within two or three years, it now owes its existence. Let me assure 'W.' that superiority of intellect, mo-

"The writer knows of but one missionary in Hayti from the U. S. He embarked with his wife in January last, in a small uncomfortable schooner, for Port au Prince. His name is William M. Jones. If it were not superfluous to allude to denunciations, in view of a true 'Soldier of the Cross,' we would say this man hails from amongst the Baptists."